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I.—THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PARODOI IN THE GREEK THEATER.

It is now an accepted principle among classical scholars to interpret evidence, especially such evidence as is found in late Greek and Roman writers on matters of a much earlier period, by reference to the existing remains and monuments of the period involved. Dörpfeld has cleared up many theatrical problems by his careful and thorough excavation of the theater of Dionysus, thus enabling him to distinguish the different periods in its history. On scenic questions also we are fortunate in having a number of plays of different types and periods, including, of course, tragedies and comedies of the classical period, specimens of the New Comedy in the recently discovered fragments of Menander and its Roman translations by Plautus and Terence. Hence it is possible to audit the accounts of late writers on scenic matters and to determine more nearly the particular period referred to.

The baffling, and possibly corrupt, passage of Pollux (iv, 126, 15) on the significance of the *πάροδοι* can be rationally interpreted only by considering it in connection with the existing Greek and Roman plays and theaters. Pollux is certainly endeavoring to describe a convention which was in vogue at some period. What he really had in mind may best be determined by ascertaining the requirements of the plays of that period to which his words seem most applicable. The passage runs thus: τῶν μέντοι παρόδων ἡ μὲν δεξιὰ ἀγρόθεν, ἡ ἐκ λιμένος, ἡ ἐκ πόλεως ἄγει· οἱ δὲ ἄλλαχόθεν πεζοὶ ἀφικνούμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἑτέραν εἰσίσαι. A few lines above we find the following statement on the *περίακτοι*: ἡ μὲν δεξιὰ (περίακτος)

τὰ ἔξω πόλεως δηλοῦσα, ἢ δ' ἑτέρα, τὰ ἐκ πόλεως, μάλιστα τὰ ἐκ λιμένος. The *left* periaktos represents τὰ ἐκ πόλεως, μάλιστα τὰ ἐκ λιμένος; the *right* parodos leads ἐκ λιμένος, ἢ ἐκ πόλεως. Obviously there can be no doubt that the triangular prism¹ upon which were painted scenes representative of the city and harbor was actually on the same side as the parodos leading from the city and harbor. It is clear, then, that one of the passages is corrupt, or that the standpoint in the use of 'right' and 'left' in each is different. The latter view was first advanced by Buttmann,² who assumed that the periaktos were placed at the side doors upon the stage and that 'right' and 'left' in reference to anything upon the stage as opposed to the orchestra were used from the actor's standpoint, while direction in the orchestra is described from the spectator's point of view. The 'left' (actor's) periaktos would thus be on the same side of the theater as the 'right' (spectator's) parodos. But this solution of the difficulty seems forced; it is hard to believe that Pollux would not have given us some hint of so sudden a change of standpoint. This consideration led Rohde,³ rightly I think, to emend the parodoi passage by substituting ἀριστερά for δεξιὰ. Thus 'right' and 'left' would be used in both passages from the actor's standpoint. This usage is also in line with a passage in the anonymous writer *De vita Aristophanis* (see Schol. Aristoph. ed. Dübner, p. 28, note): ὁ κωμικὸς χορὸς εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἤρχετο ἐπὶ τὸ θέατρον διὰ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς ἀψίδος εἰσέρχεται, εἰ δ' ὡς ἀπ' ἀγροῦ διὰ τῆς δεξιᾶς.⁴ The point of view here is that of the actor, assuming, of course, that the ancient city was on the western side of the theater of Dionysus.

¹ The *περίακτοι* were not employed, apparently, in the production of plays in the fifth century B. C.; see Niejahr Quaest. Aristoph. Scaenicae, pp. 6 ff. No trace of them has been discovered in the ruins of any Greek theater. Significant, too, is the fact that Aristophanes, who is fond of parodying the stage machinery of his time, never alludes to them.

² See Rohde's Uebers. des Vitru. I, p. 280, note 1. This view is now commonly accepted; cf. Schönborn Skene d. Hellenen, p. 73; Müller Bühnenalt., p. 159; Haigh Attic Theatre³, p. 194.

³ De Pollucis fontibus, p. 61.

⁴ Practically the same statement is found in Tzetzes De Com. (See Kaibel, Com. graec. frag., p. 29): ἂν οὖν ὡς ἐκ πόλεως ἐβάδιζε πρὸς τὸ θέατρον, διὰ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς ἀψίδος ἐβαινεν εἰ δ' ὡς ἀπ' ἀγροῦ, διὰ τῆς δεξιᾶς κ. τ. λ. Thus the Anon. passage is well attested, for Tzetzes claims as his source Dionysius, Crates, and Euclides; see Kaibel Proleg. περὶ κωμῳδίας, p. 9 and Rohde, loc. cit., p. 60, n. 2.

It is clear, then, that Pollux uses 'right' and 'left' from the actor's standpoint. But before taking up the other details of the passage, it will facilitate our reaching a more satisfactory solution of its difficulties to recall the essential differences between theatrical conditions and scenic requirements of the classical drama and the New Comedy.

The materials with which the classical dramatists worked were such as to make a clearly defined localized setting out of place and unnecessary. Neither poet nor spectator was very much concerned about topographical details. The Trojan and Theban cycle of myths and other mythological subjects do not require exact definitions of the scene in its relation to the surrounding locality. The Athenian spectator was unacquainted with the regions in which the scenes of many of the classical tragedies were laid. Hence the poet was free to disregard topographical facts in scenic representation, and to leave details hazily defined. Aeschylus in the *Suppliants* leaves us to infer that the action takes place somewhere between the coast and Argos. The only requirements in the scenic arrangement of the *Prometheus* is a desolate spot on a Scythian crag in the neighborhood of the sea. The position of the immediate vicinity is in no way connected with the progress of the play. Even when the scene is a palace or a temple, we can, as a rule, only conjecture the position of the palace or temple in its relation to the city and country. Neither Euripides nor his Athenian audience knew or cared, for example, about the city and country in the *Iphigeneia among the Taurians*. The temple of Artemis forms the background, and the seacoast is represented as being at no remote distance from the scene, whence Orestes and Pylades come. The poet does not mention the city, though we infer that Thoas comes from that quarter. Such details are passed over as have but an incidental bearing upon the plot of the play. Likewise, in the various camp scenes, the commander's tent forms the background, but we are not informed, usually, nor is it important, in what part of the camp his tent is located.¹

Several of the fifth century tragedies and comedies have their scenes laid at Athens, or in its environs. In these plays the poets and audience were familiar with the scenes represented, which were, doubtless, as realistic as the poets could make them.

¹ The *Ajax* is an exception; in this play scenic details are pretty clearly outlined. See Jebb on v. 1, and below, p. 387.

Sophocles is unquestionably giving us a real picture of the Grove of the Eumenides as the scenic background of the *Oedipus Coloneus* (see p. 390 below). Aristophanes lays the scenes of most of his plays at Athens, but he does not attempt to be consistently accurate, or realistic, in their scenic arrangement.¹ Local details do not play an important part in the working out of his plots. He was more concerned with scourging the politicians, or ridiculing the follies of his fellow-citizens, or parodying the stage devices of his tragic contemporaries. In his later plays, however, we first meet with the kind of a situation which probably led to the origin of the conventional use of the side entrances. For example, in the *Ecclesiazusae*, one of his latest comedies, the scene represents three houses upon a street in Athens. During vv. 30-54 many women enter from the city (see vv. 52-53: ὁρῶ προσιούσας καὶ ἐτέρας πολλὰς πάνν | γυναῖκας, ὅτι πέρ ἐστ' ὄφελος ἐν τῇ πόλει. These women constitute a hemichorus and are contrasted with the second hemichorus of women who, as we may suppose, enter from the country (cf. v. 300: ὅρα δ' ὅπως ὠθήσομεν (i. e. we women from the country) τοῦσδε τοὺς ἐξ ἁστεως. See also vv. 280 ff. καὶ γὰρ ἐτέρας οἶομαι | ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν εἰς τὴν Πύκν' ἤξειν ἄντικρυς | γυναῖκας. Thus the women who come from the city form a part of the chorus, those from the country another part, and the hemichoruses should have entered upon the scene from the opposite sides. The location of the Dionysiac theater at Athens on the south slope of the Acropolis was such that a character coming from the city, marketplace, or harbor, would naturally enter on the spectator's right, while persons coming from the open country would enter on the left. It must be remembered that direction in the open air Greek theater was of far more importance than in the modern roofed theater, shut in from the outside world. In the latter the stage manager may utterly disregard direction. As soon as the audience enters the door, north, south, east, or west, has no especial significance; no attempt is made at orientation. But it would be absurd to allow a character coming from the Peiraeus, if the scene were laid at Athens, to enter by the left parodos. The audience would detect too quickly such a managerial blunder. Any character

¹ But in the *Lysistrata* the local setting seems to be carried out with a considerable degree of accuracy. Note what *Lysistrata* says (vv. 831 and 835) at the approach of Cinesias: ἀνδρ', ἀνδρ' ὁρῶ προσιόντα . . . παρὰ τὸ τῆς Χλόης. The temple of Chloe was at the foot of the Acropolis on the south.

that comes from the city, harbor, or marketplace should, as a matter of course, regardless of the existence of the convention, enter on the spectator's right; characters from the country should enter on the left.

The country, city, and marketplace, then, have no organic connection with the plots of the fifth century tragedies. They are but rarely and incidentally referred to. In the later plays of Aristophanes the city and country are felt to be on opposite sides, but it is doubtful whether any conventional use of the parodoi had as yet become established. The matter is quite different, however, in the drama of real everyday life, the drama of intrigue and of manners where familiar scenes are depicted. The city, country, marketplace, and foreign lands have a very especial bearing upon the development of the plots in the New Comedy. The Athenian citizen portrayed here possessed an estate in the country. Whenever the plot required the absence of the father or anyone else in the family for any length of time, this estate offered the poet a natural and convenient motive for his removal, or a pretext for his absence. The marketplace, on the other hand, was the center of Athenian life, a public walk, an exchange. The absence of any person from the scene could plausibly be explained on the assumption that he is in the marketplace. Characters, consequently, enter from the *agora* and retire thither on the slightest pretext when the action requires their removal from the scene. As to the harbor, almost any play of Plautus and Terence will show how closely it is connected with the development of the plots. Some leading character who lives at Athens is usually abroad. His return sometimes increases the complication of the plot, or helps toward its solution. Such characters on their return from abroad invariably travel by sea¹ and, on their arrival upon the scene, it is made clear in the text, usually by specific statement, that they have just come up from the harbor.

With these general observations in mind we are in a better position for solving some of the difficulties in the passage quoted from Pollux. The right parodos (spectator's), says Pollux, leads *ἀγρόθεν, ἢ ἐκ λιμένος, ἢ ἐκ πόλεως*. This statement does not harmonize with other ancient evidence on the subject, nor with the

¹See Knapp, *Travel in Plautus and Terence*, Class. Phil. II (1907), pp. 19 ff.

actual conditions in the New Comedy. The city and country in the theater at Athens were conceived as being on opposite sides, and the same parodos cannot be thought of as leading from both city and country. This point is made clear from the above quoted passage from the anonymous writer *De vita Aristophanis*: εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἤρχετο . . . διὰ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς ἀψίδος εἰσῆει, εἰ δ' ὡς ἀπ' ἀγροῦ διὰ τῆς δεξιᾶς. The text, then, as we find it in Pollux, can hardly be sound. Schönborn¹ sought to remove the difficulty by writing ἀγορήθεν for ἀγρόθεν. This correction would bring the statement into closer harmony with the requirements in the New Comedy, though it is hard to believe that ἀγρόθεν does not belong to the passage in view of the usual contrast between ἐκ πόλεως and ἀγρόθεν. And yet reference to the ἀγορά is so frequent in the New Comedy that in any description of the convention the use of ἀγορήθεν, or the equivalent, would not be irrelevant.² In a brief statement, however, an expression for the marketplace might be omitted, inasmuch as it would be included in ἐκ πόλεως. For this reason Rohde is justified, as it seems to me, in transposing ἀγρόθεν to the second clause. The passage in its emended form would read thus: τῶν μέντοι παρόδων ἡ μὲν ἀριστερὰ ἢ ἐκ λιμένος ἢ ἐκ πόλεως ἄγει· οἱ δὲ ἀγρόθεν ἢ ἀλλαχόθεν πεζοὶ ἀφικνούμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἐτέραν εἰσίσαι. In the opinion of the writer this is substantially what Pollux wrote. There still remains a serious difficulty in the phrase πεζοὶ ἀφικνούμενοι. If sound, it should be contrasted with ἐκ λιμένος. The meaning implied in such a contrast would seem to be that those who come from abroad (ἀλλαχόθεν) *on foot* enter from the country side, while those journeying from abroad *by sea* would come up from the harbor and enter from the city side. Now, in the New Comedy persons from abroad always journey by sea, never by land on foot.³ The words πεζοὶ ἀλλαχόθεν ἀφικνούμενοι, then, can have nothing to do with the production of plays in this period. It is not uncommon in the classical drama, however, for a character to come from a

¹ Skene *der Hellenen*, p. 74. Other attempts at improving this passage might be mentioned; Wieseler, *Gött. Prorect.-Progr.* (1866), p. 11, writes ἀγχόθεν for ἀγρόθεν; see also Wecklein, *Philologus*, XXXI, p. 447, and Müller, *Bühnenalt.*, p. 159, notes 1, 2, 3.

² Cf. ἐκ τῆς [ἀγορᾶς] Men. Samia, v. 66, and *e foro* in Plautus and Terence.

³ See Knapp (*Travel in Ancient Times*), *Class. Phil.* II (1907), pp. 13 ff. for illustrations. Furthermore, "in every passage containing reference to coming to Athens *peregre* the harbor (called Piraeus or simply portus) is mentioned" (p. 13).

distance on foot. For example, Pylades in the *Orestes* comes on foot from Phocis. The conclusion seems probable that Pollux, or his source, has confused matters. Having in mind instances similar to the one just cited from the *Orestes*, he has sought to enlarge the scope of the convention, a convention which grew up in the later period, so as to include the classical plays too. Similarly, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that there is some confusion, or misunderstanding, at the base of Vitruvius' statement on the *periaktoi*, V, 6: *secundum ea loca versurae sunt procurentes, quae efficiunt una a foro, altera a peregre aditus in scenam*. These words admit of no satisfactory interpretation when considered in connection with the scenic requirements of the plays. Niejahr has demonstrated that the *periaktoi* had not yet come into use in the fifth century. And besides, no contrast between *e foro* and *peregre* is discernible in the plays of this period, as we shall attempt to point out later in this paper. Nor can the passage have any application to the production of plays in the New Comedy, unless *peregre* is used as an equivalent of *rure*; the forum and harbor (whence characters from abroad enter) are on the same side.¹ No satisfactory solution of the difficulty has been advanced.

Accepting the above corrections, Pollux's statement runs thus: The right (spectator's) *parodos* leads from the city, or harbor;² the left from the country, or from abroad by land (if such is the meaning of the doubtful phrase *οἱ δὲ ἀλλαχόθεν περὶ τοὺς ἀφικνούμενοι*). The passage as thus emended, except the last phrase, fits perfectly the scenic requirements of the New Comedy.

Müller, on the other hand, retains the traditional text of Pollux.³ The three expressions *ἀγρόθεν*, *ἢ ἐκ λιμένος*, *ἢ ἐκ πόλεως* ergeben zusammen den Begriff der Heimath, insofern zur Heimath des Atheners nicht nur Stadt und Hafen, sondern auch das Landgebiet gehörte.⁴ Thus the right *parodos* leads from the home region, including country, harbor and city; the

¹ It is perfectly clear that the city and harbor are conceived as being on the same side in the *Rudens*. For further proof that forum and harbor are conceived as being on same side see *Amphitruo*, v. 333 and *Andria* IV, 3, 19.

² Of course, what Pollux says is that the left (actor's) *parodos* leads from the city, etc., but it has seemed best in this paper to describe direction from the spectator's standpoint in order to avoid any possible confusion.

³ Bühnenalt., p. 158.

⁴ Müller compares *Oed. Tyr.*, v. 112: *πότερα δ' ἐν οἰκοῖς ἢ 'ν ἀγροῖς ὁ Λαῖος ἢ γῆς ἐπ' ἄλλης τῷδε συμπίπτει φόνω;*

left parodos from foreign parts. Haigh¹ also, following the common interpretation as given by Müller, states the convention thus: "The entrance to the right of the audience was used by persons from the neighborhood; the entrance to the left by persons from a distance". The current theory that one entrance leads from abroad, the other from the home region, is adopted by most of the editors, since its application to a larger number of the classical plays is easier than any other. And yet, there is no uniformity in the interpretation of the rule. Some editors make the one parodos serve for those persons who come from the city, the other for persons coming from the country. This is necessarily the case when an attempt is made to apply the convention to those plays in which no foreign parts are involved. For example, in the *Antigone*, according to the editors and handbooks, the right parodos leads to the city, the left to the country, where the body of Polyneices lay, whither Antigone and the Guard go and return. So in the *Bacchae* only the city and open country are involved; no character comes from abroad, or departs thither. Now, as we have just observed, in the *Antigone* the left parodos represented the open country, although it too is in the immediate neighborhood; the right the city.² In the *Oedipus Tyrannus* the Old Servant of Laius comes from the open pastures. On which side should he enter? To be consistent with the application of our convention in the *Antigone*, he should enter on the left. But this side is reserved for persons coming from abroad, whence comes Creon, who arrives at v. 84 from Delphi, and the messenger from Corinth. It would be inappropriate for the Old Servant to enter from the city side. Schönborn leaves the difficulty with these words: Welche Thür es ist, durch die der Hirt des Laios auftritt, lässt sich wie gesagt nicht bestimmt angeben.³

It is now obvious that the requirements of individual plays vary with respect to the significance that may be attached to the parodoi. No one of the proposed interpretations of Pollux's definition of the convention can be made to fit all the plays. Hence editors, naturally, adopt that interpretation which comes nearest to meeting the demands of the particular play that they happen to be editing. Thus, in the endeavor to show that the conventional use of the side entrance did not exist in the classical

¹ Attic Theatre², p. 195.² Schönborn, p. 115.³ P. 121.

period, my task is somewhat complicated. It will be necessary to prove, not only that the distinction between the home region and foreign parts as applied to the fifth century plays will not hold, but also that the distinction between city, or home region, and country can not be consistently maintained. In chapters I, II, and III are presented the arguments and evidence which, in the writer's opinion, preclude the application of the rule to the classical tragedies and comedies; in chapter IV the attempt is made to show that a conventional use of the parodoi would have been both natural and appropriate for the New Comedy.

The thesis here proposed is not altogether a new one. Niejahr¹ was the first to question the existence of a side-entrance convention in the classical period. The reasons for reopening the subject again are: (1) His material was insufficient to establish a proof; his results were rejected by Müller.² (2) No edition of the plays, or handbook, so far as I know, has taken into account his treatise; it is either unknown or ignored. (3) Niejahr failed to make use of all the available material offered by the plays as evidence against the old theory. For these reasons it has seemed appropriate to subject the question to a fresh examination, both in order to bring the theory again to the attention of scholars, and to contribute whatever additional evidence there seems to be in favor of the theory.

I.

THE SCENES OF THE CLASSICAL DRAMAS ARE TOO DIVERSE FOR THE OPERATION OF THE ASSUMED CONVENTIONAL USE OF THE PARODOI.

The earliest plays of Aeschylus do not presuppose a palace or temple as a background. In the *Supplikes* we may suppose that the altar about which the Danaides cling was the background before which the scene of action was laid. There was no house to which the actors might retire, nor was there near by a city, or *agora*, or any other convenient retreat. The tomb of Darius serves for a backscene in the *Persae*. No house, or temple, is at hand in the *Prometheus*. Obviously, then, it would be absurd to attempt to apply a subtle conventional rule

¹ *Commentatio Scaenica Progr. des Stadtgymnasiums zu Halle, 1888.*

² *Philologus, Supp. Band VI (1891-1893), pp. 36 ff.*

on the use of the *parodoi* to these plays whose scenes scarcely imply any local setting at all. Aeschylus is absolutely unrestrained by tradition both as to form and as to scenic and theatrical machinery. He was an innovator. In his hands tragedy was ever changing and developing. Conventionality grows up, usually, in the decadent period after the perfection of a particular type has been reached, not in the changes and evolution toward that type. No conventionalized scene is discernible in Aeschylus' plays. Palace, temple, grave, tomb, or a desolate wilderness, make up the scenes. In Sophocles the local setting seems to be a little more clearly defined than in Aeschylus, though the diversity of scene is equally great. The scenes of the *Antigone*, *Electra*, and of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* are laid before a palace. The scenic background of the *Oedipus Coloneus* is the Sacred Grove of the Eumenides, of the *Ajax*, a tent in the Greek camp in Troad, and of the *Philoctetes* a desolate spot on Lemnos near the coast. The house of Heracles in Trachis forms the scenic background of the *Trachiniae*. The scene of action in most of Euripides' plays is laid before a palace, temple, or tent. Thus we fail to find a fixed, stereotyped back-scene in the plays of the classical tragedians. The diversity of locality and the variety of scenes, scenes which are laid in foreign lands, in camps, mountains, and on desolate sea coasts would not have been conducive to the development of a custom. Any custom, or convention, must necessarily be the result of a constant practice formed through similar surroundings and conditions, not of an arbitrary rule superimposed from without. The lack of uniformity in scene and locality of the classical plays would make the application of a fixed rule as to the *parodoi* confusing and inappropriate.

II.

EVIDENCE IN THE PLAYS AGAINST THE ASSUMED CONVENTIONAL USE OF THE SIDE-ENTRANCES IN THE CLASSICAL PERIOD.

A. Instances Are Found Where a Character Who Goes, or Comes from Abroad, or from the Open Country, Passes through the City First, or Home Region, If the City is Not Involved.

B. The Harbor and City, or Home Region, Are on Opposite Sides.

C. Characters Occasionally Pass through the Scene of Action, Entering on the One Side and Departing on the Other, though They Are Thought of as Coming from Distant Lands and Also of Leaving the Scene for Other Foreign Parts.

D. The Application of the Convention Often Tends to Destroy the Illusion.

E. Some Situations Arise Where the Entrances Must Necessarily Be without Significance.

F. The City Is Entirely Neglected in the Action of a Few Plays.

A. Instances Are Found Where a Character Who Goes, or Comes from Abroad, or from the Open Country, Passes through the City First, or Home Region, If the City is Not Involved.

Ajax.—The scene is laid before the tent¹ of Ajax, near Cape Rhoeteum on the northern coast of Troad. On the spectator's right is represented the home-region,—in this case, that of the Greek camp. "To the spectator's left is the region of the open country, stretching east and south from the camp, over the plain of Troy, towards those 'Mysian highlands' from which Teucer returns (v. 720)".² The messenger enters at v. 719 and says (vv. 720 ff.): Τεύκρος πάρεστιν ἄρτι Μυσίων ἀπὸ | κρημνῶν μέσον δὲ προσμολῶν στρατῆγιον | κυδάζεται τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἀργείοις ὁμοῦ. Thus observe that Teucer, who comes from the open country, or foreign parts, arrives first at the generals' quarters in *mid camp*, the conventional home-region. It is true that Teucer does not enter at this point, but the messenger entered immediately and announced his arrival. In this way the theatrical effect was precisely the same as it would have been had Teucer come on in person. The messenger must have entered from the side of the open country, and yet he came directly from the camp.

Bacchae.³—Scene: Before the palace of Pentheus in Thebes. If the conventional significance of the parodoi applied, the right side represents the city; the left the open country; foreign regions have nothing to do with this play. All characters in the play, except Teiresias, who enters from the city, seem to go to and return from Mt. Cithaeron,⁴ which should be on the side of

¹ Jebb (ed. *Ajax ad v. 1*) locates the tent at the eastern end of the camp; cf. v. 3: καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ σκηναῖς σε ναυτικαῖς ὄρω.

² Quoted from Jebb, *Ajax*, p. 10.

³ See Niejahr, op. cit., p. 8.

⁴ Excepting, of course, those characters that come upon the scene from the palace.

the open country. Observe that the road from the palace to Cithaeron, according to the poet's conception, leads through the city. Pentheus says to an attendant at v. 352: οἱ δ' ἀνὰ πόλιν στείχοντες ἐξιχνεύσατε | τὸν θηλύμορφον ξένον. Dionysus had departed for Cithaeron at v. 63. Pentheus says v. 840: καὶ πῶς δι' ἄστεως εἶμι Καδμείους λαθών; see also v. 855, and 961: κόμιζε διὰ μέσης με Θηβαίας χθονός.

Electra (Eur.).—The action takes place before the Peasant's cottage on the borders of Argolis.¹ The right parodos leads from the city of Argos; the left from abroad. Electra asks the Peasant, with whom she is living, to go to the ancient fosterer of her sire (v. 410): ὅς ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν Τάναον Ἀργείας ὄρους | τέμνοντα γαίης Σπυρτιάτιδός τε γῆς | ποίμναις ὁμαρτεῖ, πόλεος ἐκβεβλημένος. Thus the Old Man, who enters at v. 487, should come on the scene by the left entrance, since he comes from remote regions. He had seen, however, Aegisthus on his way; cf. vv. 621 ff.: Old Man. Αἰγισθον εἶδον, ἥνυχ' εἶρπον ἐνθαῖδε. Orestes. προσηκίμην τὸ ῥηθέν. ἐν ποίοις τόποις; Old Man. ἀγρῶν πέλας τῶνδ' ἵπποφορβίων ἐπι. The estate of Aegisthus was certainly conceived as being between the Peasant's cottage and the city, and should be on the side of the home-region. At any rate, the estate is *rus domesticum*, as τῶνδε shows. If, on the other hand, the Old Man should be thought of as coming *rure domestico*, not from distant parts, another difficulty is encountered. The Old Man stops on his way at Agamemnon's tomb (v. 509); ἦλθον γὰρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τάφον. Orestes and Pylades, who came from abroad, also passed by the tomb (cf. vv. 510 ff.). Orestes, Pylades, and the Old Man, therefore, should enter upon the scene from the same side, although the Old Man, under our present assumption, comes from the home-region, and Orestes and Pylades from abroad.

Hecuba.—Scene: Before Agamemnon's tent in the camp of the Greeks on the coast of the Thracian Chersonese. The Greek camp represents the home-region. Polymestor alone comes from a distance; cf. vv. 963 ff.: τυγχάνω γὰρ ἐν μέσοις Θρηήκης ὄροις | ἀπῶν, στ' ἦλθες δεῦρ'· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφικόμην, | ἦδη πόδ' ἔξω δομύτων αἶροντί μοι | ἐς ταῦτόν ἦδε συμπίτνει δμῶις σέθεν, κτλ. The maid-servant had to pass through the camp of the Greeks when she departed to summon Polymestor, as is shown by v. 889: πέμψον δέ μοι τήνδ' ἀσφαλῶς διὰ στρατοῦ | γυναῖκα. Polymestor and the maid-servant must have entered upon the scene by the same parodos

¹ Cf. v. 246: ἐκ τοῦ δὲ ναίεις ἐνθάδ' ἄστεως ἐκάς;

by which the maid-servant had previously departed. In other words, Polymestor, though he comes from a distance, must pass through the camp, the side of the home-region.¹

Heracleidae.—Scene: At Marathon in the fore court of the temple. The place is represented as being very near to Athens and almost identical with it.² The home-region, then, would include Athens, as well as Marathon. The other parodos leads to distant parts whence the Argive army is coming. Demophon, who leaves the scene at v. 352 on the right (to Athens), in order to bring together his men, saw the Argive host (cf. v. 390). Thus Demophon must have departed by the same parodos by which Copeus entered at v. 55 from the Argive army.

Heracles.—Scene: Before Heracles' house in Thebes. The right parodos leads to the city; the left from abroad. Heracles, on his return from abroad, should have entered from the left. But he passed through the city: Amphitryon (v. 593). ὥφθης ἐσελθὼν πόλιν· ἐπεὶ δ' ὥφθης, ὅρα | ἐχθροὺς ἀθροίσας μὴ παρὰ γνώμην πέσης. Heracles. μέλει μὲν οὐδὲν εἴ με πᾶσ' εἶδεν πόλις.

Iphigeneia at Aulis.—Scene: In the Greek camp at Aulis, outside the tent of Agamemnon. On the right side is placed the camp; on the left the way leads to the open country and to Argos. Among those who use the left entrance are the Old Servant of Agamemnon, who departs at v. 156 with a letter to Clytaemestra, Clytaemestra and Iphigeneia, who have come from Argos in a chariot (v. 598). It is clear, then, that the left parodos leads from abroad. The chorus, consisting of maidens of Chalcis in the isle of Euboea, have crossed over to Aulis and enter upon the scene at 164: ἔμολον ἀμφὶ παρακτίαν | ψάμαθον Αὐλίδος ἐναλίας, | Εὐρίπου διὰ χευμάτων | κέλσασα, στενόπορθμον | Χαλκίδα, πόλιν ἐμάν, προλιποῦσ', κ. τ. λ. In no way can it be said, as it seems to me, that the chorus comes from the home region. They came from abroad to see the fleet. But they do pass through the Greek camp to reach the scene of action; for they describe what they have seen (cf. vv. 192 ff.).³ Thus the right parodos is used not

¹ Schönborn, pp. 233 ff., has a different arrangement, but altogether arbitrary, as it seems to me.

² See Paley, ad v. 55.

³ Schönborn, p. 231, holds that the chorus should enter from the right, since they had wandered throughout the Greek camp before coming on the scene. Could Clytaemestra and her party, who stopped in the neighboring meadow to rest and graze the horses, be said to come from abroad, and not from the neighborhood!

only by those persons who come from the home-region, but also by the chorus who come from a distance.

Iphigeneia among the Taurians.—Scene: In front of the temple of Artemis, in the neighborhood of the Taurian coast. The seaside is identical with the open country; for the Herdsman, who enters at v. 238 from the pasture lands, had seen Orestes and Pylades on the coast. This side must also represent the foreign regions, since Orestes and Pylades, who come from abroad, enter from that quarter and, on their return to Greece, depart thither in company with Iphigeneia. On the right should be represented the home-region. The city seems to be at a remote distance from the scene of action and is not mentioned in that connection, but we assume that Thoas and the chorus enter from the city. Orestes, Iphigeneia, and Pylades leave the scene at v. 1233 by the parodos which leads to foreign lands, endeavoring to make their escape to Argos. But they are to pass through the city. vv. 1209 ff.

Iphigeneia. καὶ πόλει πέμψον τιν' ὅστις σημανεῖ

Thoas. ποίας τύχας;

Iph. ἐν δόμοις μέμνουν ἅπαντας.

Thoas. μὴ συναντῶεν φόνοφ;

Iph. μυσσὰρ γὰρ τὰ τοιάδ' ἐστί.

Thoas. στείχε καὶ σήμαινε σύ.

Iph. μηδέν' εἰς ὄψιν πελίζειν.

Thoas. εὖ γε κηδεύεις πόλιν.

Ion.—Scene: Before the temple in the sacred precinct of Apollo. Xuthus and Creusa, entering the precinct from Athens, must first pass through Delphi. There seems to have been no approach to Delphi and to the temple from the north. Thus these characters must enter from the city side, although they come from abroad.

Oedipus Coloneus.—Scene: "At Colonus in Attica, a little less than a mile northwest of the Dipylon gate. The back-scene represents the sacred grove of the Eumenides, luxuriant with 'laurel, olive, and vine' (v. 17). Near the middle of the stage is seen a rock (v. 19), affording a seat which is supposed to be just within the bounds of the Grove"¹ (v. 37). The scenic details are so sharply defined that Jebb has been able to make

¹ Jebb, ad v. 1.

a drawing of the back-scene.¹ It is a fixed condition of the play that a road, passing by Colonus to Athens, skirted the grove, the inner and most sacred part of the grove being on the side furthest from the road. Now, an ancient road passes between Colonus Hippius and the Hill of Demeter Euchloüs, going in the direction of Athens.² We may reasonably suppose that the wandering Oedipus was conceived as entering Attica from the N. W., i. e., having passed into the Attic plain round the north end of Aegaleos. And, in that case, the road in question might well represent the route by which Sophocles, familiar with the local details of Colonus in his own day, imagined Oedipus as arriving. Then Oedipus moving towards Athens would have the grove on his right hand, if, as we assume, this grove was on the north side of Colonus Hippius, and on his left hand the audience. But Oedipus and Antigone are coming from abroad and should have entered on the spectator's left, not on the right, if we attempt to follow the current interpretation of Pollux.

Orestes.³—Scene: Before the Royal Palace at Argos. Pylades enters upon the scene from Phocis; vv. 725 ff.: ἀλλ' εἰσορῶ γὰρ τόνδε φίλτατον βροτῶν, | Πυλάδην, δρόμῳ στείχοντα Φωκέων ἄπο. Conventionally, he should enter on the left. We learn from his own statement, however, that he passed through the city; vv. 729 ff.: θᾶσσον ἢ με χρῆν προβαίνων ἰκόμην δι' ἄστεως | ξύλλογον πόλεως ἀκούσας, τὸν δ' ἰδὼν αὐτὸς σαφῶς, κτλ.

Phoenissae.—Scene: Before the King's Palace in Thebes. It seems absurd to attach any significance to the use of the right, or left, parodos in this play; the Argive army is conceived as having encircled the city and all the roads to the scene of action run through the city. Assuming, however, that the rule is to be applied, Polyneices, who enters from the ranks of the invading Argives, *aus der Fremde*, should come on through the left entrance. He came through the city: vv. 361 ff.: οὐτῷ δὲ τάρβος ἐς φόβον τ' ἀφικόμην | μή τις δόλος με πρὸς κασιγνήτου κτάνη, | ὥστε ξιφῆρ' χεῖρ' ἔχων δι' ἄστεως | κυκλῶν πρόσωπον ἦλθον. Eteocles, who enters at v. 446, also came from the city. It is clear that the city is conceived as being on both sides of the palace.⁴

¹ For topographical details of the play, see Jebb's Introduction, pp. 31 ff.

² See Jebb, *Introd.*, pp. 32 ff.

³ Niejahr, p. 9, finds still further indications in the play against the convention.

⁴ Cf. also Niejahr, p. 8.

Rhesus.—Scene: Before the tent of Hector in the camp at Troy. The Trojan camp is on the side of the home-region; the Greek camp would be on the side of the foreign parts. Rhesus, who comes from a distance, enters the scene from Troy and the Trojan camp (see vv. 264 ff., 282 ff., and 422 ff.), the conventional home-region.

Trachiniae.—Scene: Before the house of Heracles at Trachis, a village situated on a rocky spur under the heights ("Trachinian Rocks") which bound the plain of Malis on the south and west; the distance to the Malian coast was about six miles. The right parodos leads to the city of Trachis, beyond which is Mt. Oeta; the left parodos leads from abroad, over the Malian plain from the gulf. A messenger enters at v. 180 to announce the return of Heracles from his campaign in Euboea. This news he learns from Lichas, the herald, who "is proclaiming it to many in the meadow . . . and the Malian folk have thronged about him". Lichas enters the scene in person at v. 229 by the left side, since he is returning from abroad. We learn from the messenger that he was in the market-place just before he came on; v. 369 ff.:

ἔδοξεν οὖν μοι πρὸς σὲ δηλῶσαι τὸ πᾶν,
δέσποινα, ὃ τοῦδε τυγχάνω μαθὼν πάρα,
καὶ ταῦτα πολλοὶ πρὸς μέσῃ Τραχινίων
ἀγορᾷ συνεξήκουον ὡσαύτως ἔμοι.

The messenger repeats this statement at v. 423.

B. The Harbor and City, or Home-region, Are on Opposite Sides.

Agamemnon.—Scene: Before the Palace at Argos. The location of the palace with reference to the city is not clearly defined. The words of the Chorus at the approach of the Herald at v. 493, κήρυκ' ἀπ' ἀκτῆς τόνδ' ὄρω κατὰσκιον | κλάδοις ἐλάας, might indicate that the city is not represented as being between the shore¹ and palace. According to Pollux the city and harbor should be on the same side.

Ajax. As pointed out on p. 387 above, the scene of action is laid before the tent of Ajax near the coast. The Greek camp, or

¹ Most editors, in the arrangement of the entrances and exits of the characters in classical dramas, treat the *seashore* and *harbor* as synonymous terms. Harbor, in the strict sense of the word, is used very rarely, if at all, by the dramatic poets of the classical period. As a dramatic motive, there is no connection between 'shore' and 'harbor'. In the *Rudens* of Plautus, the sea-coast is on one side of the scene, the city and harbor on the other.

the home-region, is on the right. Ajax, as the context clearly shows, does not depart through the camp, but in the opposite direction, when he goes to the shore at v. 654: ἀλλ' εἶμι πρὸς τε λουτρὰ καὶ παρακτίους | λειμῶνας.¹

Hippolytus.—Scene: Before the palace of Theseus in Troezen. At v. 1101 Hippolytus leaves the scene, having resolved to go into exile. He should have departed by the left parodos. A messenger enters at v. 1153 from the coast and relates the misfortune that has overtaken Hippolytus (cf. vv. 1173 ff.). Thus the shore in this play is on the left side, that is, on the side of foreign parts.

Cyclops. The scene is laid before the cave of Polyphemus. On the right side is represented the home-region,² the region of the inner port of the island whence the satyr shepherds enter from the open pastures; the harbor is on the left, from which direction Odysseus enters. The sea-coast, then, where the ships of the Greeks are lying, is on the opposite side to that of the home-region.

Philoctetes.—Scene: A lonely spot on the N. E. coast of Lemnos. A rocky cliff rises abruptly from the sea. The home-region is at the right of the cave of Philoctetes; the sea-coast represents foreign parts from which Neoptolemus and Odysseus enter. Here too the harbor and home-regions are on opposite sides.

Supplikes (Aes.). The scene is laid between the city of Argos and the harbor. Danaus and his daughters enter from the harbor. They have come over sea, fleeing from the sons of Aegyptus. The King arrives from the city at v. 234. It is clear that the city and harbor are conceived as being on different sides; the citizens have not heard of the arrival of the Danaïdes.³

Rhesus.—Scene: Before the tent of Hector in the Trojan camp at Troy. The Trojan camp represents the home-region, and is situated close to the city. The Greek camp is on the side of the foreign regions, here on the side of the scene toward the coast. This runs counter to the statement of Pollux which places the city and harbor on the same side.

¹ In the Hecuba also the shore is on the opposite side to that of the Greek camp, the home-region; for the Handmaid who has the corpse of Polydorus brought on from the coast (cf. v. 697 ἐπ' ἀκταῖς νιν κυρῶ θαλασσίαις) does not pass through the camp.

² See Schönborn, pp. 261 ff.

³ Cf. vv. 368, 369, and 484.

Trojan Women. The Greek camp, where the scene of action is laid, is situated between the harbor and the city of Troy. One parodos leads to the harbor where the ships lay at anchor; the other to the city in the near distance.¹

C. Characters Occasionally Pass through the Scene, Entering on the One Side and Departing on the Other, Although They Are Conceived As Coming from Distant Parts and as Leaving the Scene for Other Distant Parts.

Alceſtis.—Scene: Before the Palace of Admetus in Phærae. Heracles enters at v. 476 from abroad. He has come from Tiryns at the bidding of Eurystheus en route to get the steeds of the Thracian Diomedes. Since he entered on the left, it would be natural for him to depart on the right, inasmuch as his destination is in the direction opposite to the direction whence he had come.

Medea.—Scene: In front of the house of Jason and Medea at Corinth. Aegeus enters on the left at v. 663; he is journeying from Delphi to Athens. Medea's words to Aegeus (v. 756) *χαίρων πορεύου* imply that he is passing by the house. Aegeus, then, should depart on the right, assuming that he entered on the left.

Prometheus. In her wanderings Io approaches the crag to which Prometheus is chained. She is represented as entering by one parodos and departing by the other.

D. The Application of the Convention Tends to Destroy the Illusion.

Eumenides. The opening scene represents the temple of Apollo at Delphi. At v. 93 Orestes departs for Athens, pursued by the Furies, by the left parodos. The scene changes to Athens before the shrine of Athena.² Orestes enters at v. 235. Conventionally, he should have come on by the left parodos. But it would enhance the illusion to have Orestes enter on the right, since he had just left the scene at v. 93 by the left parodos.

Again, Athena had left the scene at v. 482 for the Areopagus, followed by Orestes. The rest of the action takes place in the city. The chorus leaves the scene empty at v. 568. Athena, Orestes, and the chorus must have departed on the right. The scene is now shifted to the Areopagus. Just as all the characters and the chorus had left the scene by the right parodos at v. 568,

¹ Cf. vv. 235 ff.; 420 ff.; 775 ff.; 840; 1047 ff.; 1265 ff.

² I have accepted Verrall's arrangement throughout.

so now the convention would require them to enter upon the new scene by the same parodos. Certainly it would have been easier and more natural for them to enter the new scene by a different parodos.

Septem and Phoenissae. The scenes of both of these plays are laid before the palace in Thebes. The palace is within the walls of the city; the army is represented as having surrounded the city. Thus every approach to the palace must be through the city. Eteocles, in despatching the seven warriors to the various gates of the walled city, would certainly not send them all out by the same side, since the gates were in different directions.

Prometheus. Io enters at v. 561 from a distance; v. 573: *πλανῇ τε νῆστιν ἀνὰ τὰν | παραλίαν ψάμμαν* might serve as a reason for having her enter on the right, the coast from the theater at Athens being on the spectator's right.¹ Similarly, local conditions at Athens would be an argument in favor of having her depart from the scene of action to the left, the east; see vv. 707-8: *πρῶτον μὲν ἐνθένδ' ἡλίου πρὸς ἀντολὰς | στρέψασα σαυτὴν στείχ' ἀνηρότους γύας.*

E. Situations Where No Significance May Be Attached to the Side-Entrances.

Ajax. The chorus divides at v. 814. The one semi-chorus leaves the scene by the right parodos; the other by the left; cf. v. 805: *οἱ δ' ἐσπέρους ἀγκῶνας, οἱ δ' ἀντηλίους | ζητεῖν ἰόντες τὰνδρὸς ἔξοδον κακὴν.* The scene changes presently to a lonely spot on the seashore. The semi-choruses reenter the scene at v. 866 on opposite sides.

Alcestis. The action takes place before Admetus' palace at Pherae. At v. 860 Admetus is just entering the scene from the burial in company with the funeral attendants and the chorus when Heracles departs thither to bring back Alcestis. The departure of Heracles was almost simultaneous with the entrance of Admetus. Admetus does not meet Heracles, or see him, as would have happened had Heracles retired by the same parodos by which Admetus entered. We must assume, then, that Heracles used the other parodos, although his destination was the tomb.

¹ It must be admitted, however, that it is a very questionable procedure to assume that local, or topographical, considerations at Athens influenced to any great degree stage-managers in the arrangement of the entrances and exits of characters in those plays whose scenes are laid outside of Athens.

Electra (Soph.). Scene is laid before the palace at Mycenae. At the beginning of the play enter Orestes, Pylades, and Pedagogue from abroad. Orestes says at v. 73: σοὶ δ' ἤδη, γέρον, | τὸ σὸν μελέσθω βάντι φρουρῆσαι χρέος, | νῶ δ' ἔξιμεν. According to this arrangement, Orestes and Pylades are to go in one direction to the tomb of Agamemnon; the Pedagogue in the other in order to come on again disguised as a Phocian stranger. Thus the tomb of Agamemnon, to which Orestes and Pylades depart at v. 86 and from which they return at v. 1097, is on the opposite side to that from which Orestes, Pylades, and the Pedagogue enter originally, and whence the Pedagogue returns at v. 659 in the guise of a Phocian stranger. Observe, however, that Orestes and Pylades come on again as Phocian strangers (v. 1097), although they come from the tomb which the poet puts in the opposite direction to that from which the Pedagogue enters. We should infer that either parodos might be used by those persons who come from distant lands.

F. Dramas in Which the City is Neglected.¹

It has been pointed out in the early part of this paper that the city has no organic connection with the development of the plots in the classical tragedies. It should be added that in a few tragedies the city is entirely neglected in the action, though assumed to be in the neighborhood. In the *Agamemnon* and *Choephoroi* Argos is conceived as being near the palace, but is neglected in the plays: no character, except the chorus, enters from the city. In the *Electra* of Sophocles no mention is made of the city, nor does any character enter from, or depart to, the city. The same is true of the *Hippolytus*. In the *Supplikes* (Aes.), *Electra* (Eur.), *Heracleidae*, and *Iphigeneia among the Taurians* the city is far removed from the scene of action.

III.

COMEDY.

The theatrical requirements of Aristophanes' plays are sufficiently different from those of the tragedies to demand separate treatment in respect to the side-entrance convention. The Old Attic Comedy does not aim at representing action with any degree of accuracy. Its purpose is rather to give a succession of single events, more or less loosely connected. Any kind of a

¹ Cf. Niejahr, p. 11.

scene, preferably a preposterous and unreal one, is introduced to carry out the poet's fancy. The place of action may be changed freely, but the scene remains the same.¹ The license of the comic poets permitted them to throw all rules and conventions to the wind. Dramatic illusion is never taken seriously; the actors cannot resist the temptation to give the audience the wink. Even stage devices are introduced merely for the purpose of parody. Aristophanes, in his early plays, does not always inform us from what quarter a character comes. It was a matter of no concern. The necessary character turns up from some place or other at the proper moment. The poet does not feel constrained to create a motive for bringing a character upon the scene, nor for his removal.

The *Birds*, *Frogs*, and *Peace* defy the application of all conventional rules of theatrical and scenic representation. In the *Birds* Peithetaerus and Euelpides arrive at a desolate place in the woods and halt before a rock, the house of the Epops. Cloudcuckootown is founded; here the action takes place. The scene is absolutely fanciful and unreal. It is utterly absurd to attempt to draw a distinction between city and country, or home-region and foreign parts. The scene in the *Frogs*² has been appropriately called "On the Road to Hades". Dionysus and Xanthias are not represented as having entered from any particular place. They are simply in the theater at Athens; the audience of Athenian citizens is taken into their confidence. Now the house of Heracles is at hand; at the proper time they are on the banks of the Styx; Charon is at his post, ready to transport Dionysus to the opposite bank; soon they are off for Hades. The voyage was of course purely horse-play; it is very probable that they did not move half way around the orchestra.³ The scene now changes to Hades where the rest of the action takes place. But observe that Xanthias must reenter the scene on the opposite side from that by which he had departed.⁴ The

¹ Cf. Niejahr, Quaest. Aristoph. Scaen., pp. 16 ff.

² Niejahr, Commentatio Scaenica, p. 12, has pointed out the absurdity of attempting to apply Pollux' rule to the Frogs.

³ Cf. v. 297: *λερεῦ, διαφύλαξόν μ', ἐν ᾧ σοι ξυμπότης*. The priest occupied the middle seat in the first row nearest the orchestra. Assuming that Dionysus was near the proscenium at the beginning of the scene, we are able to determine about how far he actually moved on the "voyage".

⁴ V. 193 (Charon to Xanthias) *οὐκ οὐν περιθρέξει ὅητα τὴν λίμνην κύκλῳ*;

opening scene of the *Peace* represents the house of Trygaeus in Athens. Trygaeus, mounted upon a beetle, ascends to heaven. The action is now represented as taking place in heaven. But no attempt is made at carrying out the illusion; at v. 296 Trygaeus bids all the people in Athens to come to his aid. The people enter in the form of the chorus, not transported through the air, but march in from the city. It is obvious, I think, that no distinction could appropriately be made in the use of the parodoi in these plays.

If the distinction between country and city should be observed, only one parodos would be employed in the *Wasps*, *Clouds*, *Knights*, and *Thesmophoriazusae*.¹ The scene of each of these comedies is laid before a house in Athens.² All characters go to and enter from the city; no character enters from the country.³

We may conclude that the rule of Pollux has no reference to the above-named comedies. No conventionalized scene has yet been reached. In the two latest plays, however, viz., *Ecclesiazusae* and *Plutus*, there is discernible a contrast between city and country. For the *Ecclesiazusae*, see p. 380 above. The action of the *Plutus* takes place before the house of Plutus in Athens. At v. 229 Carion departs to the country to summon Chremylus' farm hands to the city (vv. 223-224): τοὺς ξυγγεώργους κάλεσον,—εὐρήσεις δ' ἴσως | ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς αὐτοὺς ταλαιπωρουμένους. These rustics enter from the country at v. 252. Blepsidemus enters from the city, vv. 337 ff.: καίτοι λόγος γ' ἦν, νῆ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, πολλὸς | ἐν τοῖσι κουρείοισι τῶν καθημένων, κ. τ. λ. Thus both city and country are mentioned. It was in plays of this kind that the practice probably originated of having characters from the city enter on the spectator's right, those from the country on the left.

IV.

NEW COMEDY.

A thoroughly conventionalized and stereotyped scenic background occurs first in the New Comedy. The usual scene represents three houses on a street in a coast city, Athens, as a rule.

¹ Cf. Niejahr, op. cit., p. 13.

² In the *Thesmophoria*, the scene changes from the house of Agathon to the Thesmophoria.

³ It is not clear from what quarter the Sausage-Seller comes in *Equites*, v. 146; he may enter from the country.

In one direction the street leads to the city, the marketplace, and the harbor, all of which were toward the west from the theater at Athens; in the other direction, to the east, the street leads into the country. Even the fragments of Menander are full enough to enable us to see that such a distinction in the use of the right and left entrances might have been, and probably was, observed. The scene in the *Periceïromena* represents the houses of Polemon and Pataecus on a street in Corinth.¹ The way to the right leads to the city, to the left into the country to Polemon's camp. Polemon rushes upon the scene, coming from the country, immediately after Davus had said (vv. 244-245): τὸν δεσπότην, ἂν ἐξ ἀγορῷ θᾶπτον πάλιν | ἔλθῃ, ταραχὴν οἷαν ποιήσει παραφανείς. Sosias leaves the scene at v. 64 for the country, but returns at v. 234, sent by Polemon. Davus departs at v. 146 to the city to bring back Moschion, who had gone there in fear of his father's anger. Davus, accompanied by Moschion, reenters at v. 147 from the city. These instances are sufficient; there is no doubt that one parodos is employed by those going to the city, the other parodos by persons entering from, or going to the country. In the *Epitrepontes* the scene is in the country before the houses of Charisius and Chaerestratus. But it is clear that Athens is on one side, while the country is conceived as being on the other side (cf. vv. 25 ff.). Syriscus, in company with his wife, enters at the beginning of the arbitration scene from the country.² He departs to the city at v. 245: εἰς πόλιν γὰρ ἔρχομαι. So Smicrines enters from the city (v. 361)³ whither he had gone at the end of the arbitration scene (v. 154). We may infer from the following quotation from other fragments of Menander that in these too, country, city, and agora have their usual significance in determining the direction whence a character should enter: *Samia*, v. 65: ἀλλ' εἰς καλὸν γὰρ τουτονὶ παρόνθ' ὄρω | τὸν Παρμένοντ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς. *Georgos*, v. 18: οὐκ οἶδα γὰρ τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἰ νῦν ἐξ ἀγορῷ | ἐνθάδ' ἐπιδημεῖ; v. 31: οὗτος κατὰ τύχην προσέρχεται | αὐτῶν ὁ θεράπων ἐξ ἀγορῷ Δᾶος; v. 76: ἄπεισιν εἰς ἀγρόν; v. 79: καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν ἄστει. *Citharistes*, v. 49: πρὸς ἀγορὰν δ' οὕτως ἄμα | προάγων ἀκούσῃ

¹ See Capps, *Intro. to Peri.*, p. 144. I have followed Capps' interpretations throughout both in respect to the arrangement of the lines and the entrances and exits of the characters.

² Capps, *Act II, Scene 1.*

³ *Σμικρίνης ἀναστρέφει | ἐξ ἄστεως πάλιν.*

καὶ τὰ λοιφ' ὧν μοι γενοῦ | σύμβουλος; V. 54: μεταπέμπετ' ἐξ ἀγροῦ με
Μοσχίων; V. 56: εἰς ἀγρὸν ἔφευγεν; V. 64: ἄρτι πρὸς ἀγορὰν πορεύσομαι.
Colax, v. 48: ἐβόων ἄν εὐθὺς παρακολουθῶν ἐν ἀγορᾷ.

The comedies of Plautus and Terence give us the best proofs for the existence of a convention and the sphere of its operation.¹ The diversity of scenes in the tragedies and comedies of the classical period, scenes that are usually hazily defined, and the absence of a specific statement in the text as to the quarter whence an actor enters, have already been observed. The same scenic background, on the other hand, would serve for almost all of the plays of Plautus and Terence. Three houses, fronting upon a street in a coast city, is the conventional scene. Athens is the scene of twelve of Plautus' plays, and of all of Terence's, except the *Heauton*. There is rarely any question about the place from which a character enters, or in what particular place a character may be found during the course of the play. The expressions *ad forum*, *a foro*, *in foro*, *apud forum*, *in urbe*, *ex urbe*, *rus*, *ruri*, *rure*, *a portu*, *ad portum*, *in portum*, *apud portum*, *in Piraeum*, *a Piraeo*, *peregre*, occur frequently in nearly every play; it is needless to quote examples. But it is from those plays whose scenes are laid at other places² than Athens that we may best learn how thoroughly conventionalized the scene in the New Comedy had come to be. Local references³ are not infrequent, and are often correct, but in general the business is represented as taking place at Athens. For example,

¹ I do not mean by this that I subscribe to the view that the Athenian convention was taken over by the Roman stage. It seems not improbable that Plautus and Terence are simply translating the convenient dramatic motives offered by the terms, *forum*, *harbor*, *country*, etc., as found in the Greek originals, without attempting to preserve their theatrical significance in the production of the Roman comedies. This may be inferred from the apparent confusion in the use of 'right' and 'left'. For example, in the *Rudens* the barren shore (or country) is on the actor's right (see v. 156) *hac ad dexteram: viden secundum litus*; the city and harbor on the left, see p. 401 below. In the *Amphitruo* the harbor is on the actor's right. Sosias enters from the harbor, v. 333. Mercury, who is facing the audience, says on Sosias' arrival: *hinc enim dextra vox aures, ut videtur, verberat*. In the *Andria* the *forum* is on the actor's right (iv. 3. 19). Thus the situation in the *Andria* and *Amphitruo* is different from that in the *Rudens*; in the latter the harbor and forum are on the actor's left, as is the case in the Greek theater.

² Knapp, *Class. Phil.* II (1907), pp. 4 ff.

³ Knapp, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

in the *Amphitruo* Thebes is the scene of action ; but the harbor is introduced just as if the scene were laid at Athens.¹ In the *Poenulus* also characters enter from the harbor, though the action is supposed to take place at Calydon in Aetolia.² Thus the city, market-place, harbor, and country play conspicuous parts not only in the plays whose scenes are laid at Athens and other coast cities, but also in those plays whose scenes are laid in inland cities. Even accuracy in local touches is sacrificed, or disregarded, to meet the demands of a stage convention. It may be stated as a matter upon which all are agreed that in all of the dramas of Plautus and Terence, except the *Rudens* and *Heauton*, no difficulty is encountered by assuming that the side on which a person should enter, or depart, was regulated by fixed convention. The scenic arrangements of the *Rudens* and *Heauton* require a somewhat more detailed consideration.

The scene of the *Rudens* is laid in the country near the sea coast. The city of Cyrene is in the near distance. Assuming the existence of the convention, there is no reason why it may not be applied to this play. One parodos should lead to the town and harbor, the other to the open country, here the barren shore. Plesidippus, accompanied by friends, enters from the harbor at v. 89 (cf. v. 91 : neque quivi ad portum lenonemprehendere). Fishermen enter from the city at v. 290 (cf. v. 295 Cotidie ex urbe ad mare huc prodimus pabulatum). Trachalio, servant of Plesidippus, enters from the city at v. 306.³ Labrax enters from the shore at v. 485. Trachalio departs thither at v. 775 to summon Plesidippus. They both return from the shore at 839, Plesidippus having left his three friends on the coast. Plesidippus returns now to the city with Labrax, but sends Trachalio back to the shore to tell his companions to proceed by another route *into the city to the harbor* : iube illos in urbem ire obviam ad portum. It is perfectly clear that the city and harbor are on one side of the scene, the seashore and open country on

¹ V. 148, sed Amphitruonis illic est servus Sosia : a portu illic nunc huc cum lanterna advenit.

² V. 114, Is heri huc in portum navi venit vesperi. The poet seems to forget that the scene is not Athens ; cf. v. 372, Ac te faciet ut sies civis Attica atque libera.

³ His master, on leaving that morning, ad portum se aibat ire ; me huc obviam iussit sibi venire ad Veneris fanum.

the other.¹ The situation in the *Heautontimorumenus* is similar to that in the *Rudens*. The scene is laid in the country near Athens before the houses of Chremes and Menedemus. But the highway leads in one direction to the city and harbor, and in the other into the country.

We may justly conclude from the test to which the statement of Pollux on the parodoi has been subjected through its application to the plays, that the rule, either taken literally, or as interpreted by commentators, does not fit the classical drama. Such a convention is quite out of harmony with the conditions of the fifth century theater and would have been inappropriate. On the other hand, it cannot be doubted that in the stereotyped scene of the New Comedy the side-entrances had come to have a conventional significance which Pollux is, apparently, endeavoring to describe.

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¹Sonnenschein (Introd. *Rudens*, p. 15) says that one entrance leads from Cyrene and its harbor, i. e., peregre in relation to the inhabitants of the coast. But surely no foreign regions are involved in this play.